

to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men.

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly.

THE VILLAGE AND THE HOUSE

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund.

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they

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CHAPTER III

DAIRIES AND BUFFALOES

181 THE milking and churning operations of the dairy form
234 the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the
771 Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their
778 buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as
793 more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial.
The sacred animals are attended by men especially set apart
who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred
animals is churned in dairies which may be regarded as the
Toda temples and are so regarded by the people themselves.
The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious
ritual and ceremonies of a religious character accompany
nearly every important incident in the lives of the
buffaloes.

Among the buffaloes held by the Toda to be sacred there
are varying degrees of sanctity, and each kind of buffalo is
tended at its own kind or grade of dairy by its own special
grade of the priesthood; buffaloes and dairies forming an
organisation the complexities of which were far from easy to
unravel.

Each kind of dairy connected with its special kind of
buffalo has its own peculiarities of ritual. The dairies form
an ascending series in which we find increasing definiteness
and complexity of ritual; increasing sanctity of the person of
the dairyman-priest, increasing stringency of the rules for the
conduct of his daily life, and increasing elaboration of the
ceremonies which attend his entrance upon office. There are
also certain dairies in which the ritual has developed in

special directions, and there are special features of the organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of the clans of which each division is composed.

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life.

THE DAIRY ORGANISATION

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. These animals are divided into those of a sacred character and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products.

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*.

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,¹ and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'² according to his age; but,

¹ This word should probably be *palli* and was usually pronounced *palithi*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

² According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karithi*, milking or milked.

should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot.

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursiitpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursiitpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *padmoh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life.

From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as

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181 Mr. Punnett has suggested elsewhere,¹ a reason why polyandry
831 is so rare a form of marriage. The practice of polyandry must almost inevitably weaken the sentiment of possession on the part of the man which does so much to maintain the more ordinary forms of marriage.

[177] The low sexual morality of the Todas is not, however, limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri Hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that in this respect the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed.

[144] That the Todas are perhaps not so black as they are painted is suggested by two considerations. There is little evidence of the existence of many half-breeds. I examined in one way or another over 500 Todas and must have seen nearly the whole of the 800 people who form the Toda population. I saw few who suggested Tamil or Badaga intermixture and only one boy whose appearance suggested European parentage. A more careful examination than I gave might, however, have revealed other suspicious cases, and perhaps in a race which practices infanticide the absence or paucity of half-breeds may not carry much weight.

The other consideration is of a different kind and tends to show not only that the Todas are not so black as they are painted, but that they are not so black as they paint themselves.

143 By means of the genealogical record I was able to work
831 out the relationship to one another of forty-three individuals suffering from colour-blindness. Since this condition runs mainly in the female line, it does not afford very cogent evidence of paternity; but a full examination of my records

¹ *Loc. cit.*

192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
 593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
 577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book¹ on the Todas has suggested that the
 234 existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the
 611 Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
 842 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
 611 and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing
 842 so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

¹ P. 132.

and even to have developed a system of male descent among their buffaloes such as exists among themselves.

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect.

ADOPTION

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies.

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child retains the father's property, and belongs to the *madol* and *pōlm* of the father.

There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom which makes it necessary that a man should have children. The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well be performed by some other member of the clan.

There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nōdrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

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CHAPTER XXIV

ARTS AND AMUSEMENTS

- 181 THE arts of life among the Todas are extremely simple. The fact that their agriculture is done for them by the Badagas and that all the objects they use in their daily life are made for them by the Kotas leaves them free to devote their whole attention to the care of the buffalo and the dairy. This employment has acquired so ceremonial a character that, having dealt with the ceremonies of the Todas, we find little left to consider in connexion with the regulation of the affairs of daily life.
- 234 177 161 531 The artistic side of life among the Todas is but little developed. Their interest is so much absorbed in ceremony that little is left for the development of art, even of a primitive kind. The decorative arts are of the simplest and are directed only to the adornment of the clothing or the person, and even here we shall find that the methods of wearing the clothes or the hair are quite as much influenced by ceremonial as by æsthetic considerations. In their amusements again we shall find that the influence of ceremonial is so great, that many of the games are merely imitations of ceremonial occupations.
- 821 I have included in this chapter an account of the ideas which are held about the heavenly bodies, the primitive astronomy of the people. To the Todas, though in a less degree than to many people of low culture, it is the sun, moon, and stars which are the chief objects of those observations and speculations which are the beginnings of science.

blue cotton, in the fashion which some of the photographs in this book will show.

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The turbulent cattle are tended solely by men and boys. And the men manage out-door affairs generally.

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It is a quiet, undemonstrative, but intensely domestic people; domestic in the wider sense of viewing the entire family, to the last cousin, much as one household, in which everyone is everywhere entirely at home; each one assisting, with the steadiness of a caterpillar, in the easy, progressive task of emptying his neighbour's larder: no one exerting himself by one fraction to raise the family. The great feature in Toda organisation, is the all-absorbing power of his domestic attachments, which, like Pharaoh's lean kine, swallow up all other qualities.

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If the Todas lose, in a material point of view, from deficient size in Acquisitiveness, and the propensities generally, yet they certainly are large gainers thereby in the quiet, even tenor of their domestic life, undisturbed by the wrongs of grasping, vindictive, overbearing natures. They no doubt have quarrels, in the course of which they—particularly the women—are known to use very high language indeed and expressive gestures, but they are mere pebbles in a brook as compared with the rocks that break the flow of other waters.

The men maintain their authority in the home circle very sensibly, and without attempt at tyranny; but I saw too a woman who, as was very evident, ruled her husband. She must have acquired this authority by means of some slight superiority in quality of brain, for she had no apparent vantage over him. I was so much interested in this repetition amongst an unambitious, retiring, and primitive people, of a well-known phase of married life in energetic folk nearer home, that I had hoped to induce the pair to present themselves to be photographed; and the temptation I offered would have succeeded but for their age, which made a long walk over the hills too great an effort.

The general type of the Toda character is most unvarying ; singularly frank, affable, and self-possessed, cheerful yet staid : respectful; seemingly from a sense of conscious inferiority rather than from an active principle : fearless, from small cause for fear more than from the stimulus of a latent power of oppositeness : communicative, yet watchful and shy, as if their natures impelled them to divulge what their natures also prompted them to maintain quiet : willing to take money,¹ yet accepting what is proffered with callousness, allowing it to lie on the ground or their children to play with it. In villages without an article *de luxe* beyond a few women's ornaments, one may see naked children decorated liberally with small coin. The investment was no doubt safe round their necks and loins, but the very safety implies an absence of theft and violence, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of the law courts of the district. Their main crimes appear to consist in struggles to avoid payment of their debts for money borrowed on bonds from the Badagas.

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IV.

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According to superior notions, they are not a moral race ; yet a knowledge of many little facts that could not well be recorded, leaves the impression on my mind that they have certain limits in decent custom (well understood by them, though rarely primitive to our civilised conceptions of what is respectable) which are probably not often transgressed. I could not hope, without a far greater knowledge of the people than could be obtained except by residing long amongst them, to give anything approaching a just definition of their private ways. I fancy, however, that they are less bounded by acknowledged rule than by the gentleness and simplicity, though rude nature, of their character.

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Though their intellect is of a very inferior order, and their force of character extremely small, and no great man of

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¹ The Todas living in proximity to the haunts of Englishmen, do not hesitate to importune for money with the greatest and most childlike persistency ; yet if unsuccessful are not a bit distressed.

CHAPTER V.

THE LAND HE LIVES IN.

The Todas a very ordinary people: the Interest they attract greatly due to Association—Habits and Manners free from Eccentricity—The Scenery of the Country: its Silence and Grace—A cool Morning grows to a Summer Day—Tasteless Toda.

● /8/ A MOST interesting people is this to contemplate. The well-marked Assyrian stamp of face, amidst more clumsy types, would, if for no other reason, make them attractive to us.

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V.

But when one has actually witnessed and realised what I am about to describe; the patriarchal mode of life in all its wonderful artlessness: the antique religious usages—effete, the forms remaining, their motives lost: the quiet deam-like lives; the even tenour of which reposes on custom, whose rare simplicity and immemorial practice indicates a strange proximity to primeval man;—then the interest in them redoubles, and one appreciates the fact, that he actually views a state of society more primitive than, though somewhat similar to that of our own Celtic ancestors, who *tilled* British soil. And the traces in his language, of what is cognate to the Celtic, increases the points of curious resemblance.

But it must be acknowledged that the interest we take in the Todas, is chiefly due to these associations: for of themselves, and apart from considerations connected with the evidences of the vast antiquity of their habits, or with their relationship to other races of which we may have especial knowledge, there can, I think, be no doubt they must be held a very ordinary people; whose peculiarities result mainly

from combinations of negative qualities, and the contrast they present to all the activities we have been accustomed to.

It is humanising, however, to recognise in them—ignorant, dirty, and unkempt—the likeness to ourselves, inheritors of many centuries of civilisation. Their children laugh and play as ours do. Their tricks are the tricks of our own boyhood. Their women display, with direct simplicity, many of the exact same characteristics of ours; even the most refined, even the debased. And they are repositories of family lore—staunch conservatives. The men rule their households on principles of worldly policy as we do, and without any striking point of dissimilarity; and, as I have already noted, are treated somewhat arbitrarily by their wives too, as we are apt to be also. Their natural language is precisely the same as ours; not a sign, not a demonstration of the feelings, not a movement, but may be understood at a glance as well as if we had all been brought up from infancy together.

The customs of the people strangely seem to suggest the germs of many that even now exist among us. Indeed, nothing in their ways surprised me more than to see them act so much as we do; to an extent, even, that deprived them of much interest in my eyes.

133 The country in which we find the Todas, though not by many moves perhaps the seat of his origin, is worthy of notice; for thus we shall better realise how man lived in days when he had advanced scarce more than one step from the period of his rude simplicity; in what style of place he gradually acquired forms and social habits, that he never forsook entirely; and how he multiplied unobserved, until his country could no longer contain his progeny—then migrated and founded nations.

Picture an abrupt-edged table-land, on the apex of a solitary mountain—a very Laputa in its complete isolation of some 7,000 ft. in altitude—whose evergreen surface is one continued intermixture of rounded hills, with tracts of rolling

silent yet speaking, quiet and secluded, forms the *beau idéal* of a breeding-place and nursery for infant races.

CHAP.
V.

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The Toda buffalo has roamed over this land for centuries, and his master, calling his orders to the cattle he leisurely tends, has witnessed the many beauties of nature which I have merely suggested. But I do not find, by his language, religion, or tastes, that they have had any effect on him. He sees the grass. Ha! He sees the dew. Ha! He sees the forest. Ha! But apparently it is only so much cattle's food with water on it, and fuel in the distance. Ha! The sun is shining on it, and the water will soon dry; then the cattle will grow thirsty!

The prevalent idea is that primitive man, uneducated man, working man, is so engrossed in cares and in the occupation of providing himself with food, that he has no leisure for contemplating nature's beauties. The phrenologist knows better; and you, reader, will shortly agree that the Toda has unlimited leisure, as I now show that he has endless opportunity of noting the beautiful.

These hills are covered with good soil—indeed in the moist hollows it is pre-eminently rich and productive, and the land is very accessible to the plough. There is excellent clay for pottery. A laborious, acquisitive race, conserving the glorious water supply, would render this land a paradise. But the Toda scheme is simpler far. He has cattle who afford him all he wants; why should he work? Why should he plough? And from the lazy man's point of view, perhaps he is right.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE MAND.

Todas a pastoral Race—Definition of a Nomad—Todas migrate, but are not nomadic—The Mand or Village—Construction of Houses—Interior Arrangement of Houses—The surrounding Wall—The Cattle-pen—The Dairy or Pállhchi—Typical Plan of a Mand—Selection of Village Sites—Names of Villages.

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VI.

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THE TODAS are a purely pastoral race; occupying themselves almost entirely in the bucolic pursuit of herding buffaloes, of which they are in possession of a very fine species. They keep no other description of animals, save cats—Kotti.

As they do not attempt cultivation of the soil, they have rather hastily been styled nomads. Taking that term to imply a tribe which, *without fixed place of residence*, wanders in quest of food—whether that be game or pasture for its cattle—the word is a misnomer as applied to the Todas.

Indeed, from the many primitive races found in various parts of the world, which with striking deficiency of development in the organs of Acquisitiveness, Constructiveness, Order, and Number, are also distinguished by the peculiarity, common to them all, of not tilling the soil, we may select links of a complete gradation in idle mode of life; from the lowest, or ever-wandering predatory class which lives by begging and theft: through several varieties of the nomadic shepherd and hunter: up to the *settled* pastoral races, amongst which we class the Todas; who, with a very strong bias in favour of a permanent home, *yet migrate* once a year, compelled

CHAPTER IX.

SAVAGE ANTITYPE.

Cause of idleness of primitive Races—Their attributes—Toda qualities, and form of Cranium—The most primitive form of Skull—How to judge of Cannibal heads—Tylor, on the Development of the Human Race—Dolichocephali the natural Inhabitants of warm Zones: Brachiocephali the result of harsher circumstances—Endogamy and Dolichocephaly—Why pure Brachiocephali are not met with—Caste inimical to advance—Brachiocephaly the counterpoise to Dolichocephaly—Correlation between Brachiocephaly and Broad Shoulders.

IT will no doubt appear phenomenal to many of my readers, much in the same way as surprise has been excited in myself; that notwithstanding the example of certain tribes living contiguous to the Todas, and cognate to them in blood as in the stage of their barbarism, who earn a living by various modes of occupation, pursuit, and industry, the Toda should persist in maintaining an isolation of idleness so complete, that not one of the many means which these other tribes have adopted for improving their circumstances, and none of the impulses to action by which they have been moved, should in the least have commended themselves to this remarkable people living in their very midst.

The North-American Indian is well known to be receding before the advance of the white-man; from an inability to adapt his wild habits to the too-rapidly changing times, so absolute as to give the appearance of his having deliberately and proudly elected to accept extinction, rather than compromise with civilisation by altering the pristine customs of his race. And we greatly—and with much apparent justice—

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clever, and persevering through ages of strife with fellow-man, and conflict with difficulties presented by nature, had either risen in civilisation by means of a preliminary course of cultivation of the soil, and become great nations, or, on the contrary, had—like the North-American Indians under other and less favourable circumstances—developed qualities which, whilst retaining the primitive dislike to profitable labour, and the innocence of commercial skill displayed by the Todas, superadded other traits so ferocious as to render their immediate civilisation almost as hopeless as the taming of wild animals. The Toda is merely a simple, thriftless, and idle man, who will never, so long as his blood remains unmixed with that of superior tribes, or, by selection, is improved almost beyond recognition, work one iota more than circumstances compel him to do: but without taint of the ferocity of savagery.

I proceed now to compare the known qualities of the Toda with the form of his cranium: for if my supposition be correct; that in his general inefficiency, and callousness to wealth, combined with intense gregariousness and domesticity of character, we have prominent physiologic evidence of extreme primitiveness in condition of race, then it will prove most interesting and valuable, if, in addition to the objects of our immediate study, I may be successful in demonstrating even one practical means, by which, in judging of ancient skulls, we may be competent to decide between two chief candidates; of late years styled the brachycephalic and dolichocephalic—terms which, owing to want of definition, are unsatisfactory to the phrenologist, but which I use as being well understood by ethnologists—which is the oldest, most primitive form.

181 I feel the conviction that aboriginal man must, like the Todas, have been eminently gregarious, fond of children, 000 and practical; for the simple reason, that without such combination of valuable qualities, he must, in the days of his ignorance and inexperience, have been killed off in detail,

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BELL-GODS.

A religion based on the care of the Cow—Milk a Divine fluid—The Cattle-bell, a God—The Bell-cow—Her ancestral line—The Bell-god—Installation of the Bell-cow—The Tiribri—The sacred Herd—Bulls of the Herd—Sanctification of Bulls—Agnate law amongst the Todas; Female succession for their Cattle—Antiquity of Bell-gods.

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XIII.

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NOTHING amongst the peculiarities of this very peculiar people is more striking than the absorbing importance they attach to all duties connected with the management of the buffalo and her chief product. The animal is the focus of all village life; the nucleus or centre upon which their entire religio-social system is based. One cannot imagine the Toda apart from a consideration of his buffalo; and when we reflect how entirely dependent the man is upon the animal—how, with only a light and pleasant expenditure of patience and perseverance, he finds the coarse grass of his hills turned into good nutriment; the care of the buffalo, so far from appearing anything extraordinary, only fits into its natural place as a necessary sequence. We are reminded, too, that the milk-giver and the bull have been, and still are, objects of especial care and of worship amongst other races that own Western Asia as their cradle-land. It also carries us back to the time when man depended upon his flocks and herds for existence. We actually see him in process of forming a religion, based upon the care of the cow.

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'Few,' writes Mr. Tylor, 'who will give their minds to master the general principles of savage religion, will ever again

said Madge Wildfire, 'ye ken' very weel it's buried—but that signifies naething. I have had it on my knee a hundred times and a hundred times till that, since it was buried; and how could that be were it dead, ye ken? it's merely impossible.'

CHAP.
XVIII.

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It is somewhat remarkable that the Todas should not only feel so confident in their immortality, but be without apprehension as to the future state; in the possibility that individually they may not attain to it. No such doubts arise to perplex their simple minds. Death is not a leap in the dark, but the contrary. The mode of thought—if thinking, it may be termed—by which they seem to set at rest this difficulty of more advanced and religious races, is too curious to be lost.

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Their belief appears to be based on two considerations; one, what they know: the other, a sort of self-consciousness.

As regards the first, they *know* that they and their cattle were raised from the earth by the Great Unseen. This with them is a faith assured, as if the true story had been handed down from incontrovertible sources. They find themselves living, existing, breathing: they note the breath-life to leave the clay which returns to earth. But where does this breath-life go? The reply is contained in their *knowledge*. 'Tis a little sophistical perhaps, but an illogical jump is nothing with such people. They know that Todas and cattle live in *amñôr*; hence they are certain, with an absolute certainty, that this departed breath has gone there to join their forefathers. In this there is nothing more wonderful than that they rose from the soil! The subject is not worth thinking about! it has long been known! Thinking is difficult to the primitive mind. Best not to think!

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If with all our accumulated stores of information, we find the subject of a future state but little further advanced than it was ages ago, we can sympathise with a very simple people who have so few facts to work upon, and with whom the

³ I would invite a comparison between this word *ken*, and the Toda words for I see, I dream, I smell, *et cetera*, in Chapter XXIX.

process of thought is little more than the instinctive stringing and restringing of those very few and very stale facts together. With a deeply domestic, excessively conservative and practical race, void of talent for generalisation, employed in working out its own problem; what could its theory of a future state be, than an exact copy of circumstances it had witnessed in this?

The self-consciousness to which I have ascribed one of the reasons for their viewing the future entirely without apprehension, appears to me to be an *intuitive but unobtrusive appreciation of the simplicity and harmlessness of their own natures*: unsentitive doubtless as to abstract right and wrong, but whose tendencies to the commission of crime are the very smallest; small indeed, in proportion to the inefficiency of their character, rather than in any ratio to moral qualities.

It is acknowledged that they commit without much remorse, as a matter almost of habit and nearly with impunity, acts which, with races that have long been exposed to the influence of a public opinion, are scouted as degraded though secret vices, but which the unrefined Toda sense does not censure as anything very heinous; rather as peccadillos punishable in a quiet way amongst themselves.

If all Toda society is unanimous in holding such acts as of small importance, where from such a race are we to meet a Toda of the unusual moral stature to consider himself alone criminal? Todas in addition to much real harmlessness of life are never troubled by moral scruples or remorseful feelings; such as would give their consciences trouble, leading to the hope of a purer future life, or one in which those who had escaped merited punishment for crimes committed in this world, would yet suffer hereafter.

If they have words for sin and hell, they have to all appearance, merely been adopted from the Hindus; the former perhaps in its milder sense, of a trespass, to supply a want, the latter to apply to other people. But Todas all go to amnôr.

CHAP.
XIX.

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under the same general ideas, and apparently for similar purposes as the dairy of a tiriéri or the pálthchi of any Mand. Then it holds a vat—which no other building does—whose use is not understood by the vorshál in charge, and whose very existence is, I feel nearly certain, unknown to the people. If the vat was constructed for sacrificial purposes, then its use has been discontinued and forgotten, though the priest in charge is a vorshál or sacrifice man.⁴

It is situated on an exposed site bearing the outlines of stone walls, built on a largeness of scale, and in a form, nowhere else found amongst these people—with a Kromlech and numerous Cairns dotted close about.

The specific name by which it is known—boath⁵—is peculiar, and applicable solely to that style of structure.

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Now it should be borne in mind, if we would form an opinion on the origin of this edifice, that the Todas are unimaginative creatures of one idea; having one way of doing everything: intolerant of change or deviation from custom, unless for some manifestly practical advantage. How then do we find such a race in occupation of an eccentric building which does not fit in with any of its other institutions? Not a tiriéri—for it is of lower grade in Toda estimation; its servant a vorshál, not a God. Not an ordinary pálthchi, for one of the largest size exists apart, within a few paces of it.

172

As there is nobody who can give an explanation of the phenomenon, I will submit a theory of my own for consideration. May the boath not be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to, the Todas, which, taking refuge like them on these hills, died out in their presence—

⁴ See Note 4 of Chapter VIII.

⁵ Boath. An enclosed Jain temple is basti.

It may be deemed fanciful to refer to booth or bothy. The Welsh is bwth, the Gaelic is both. This word is of very extensive use. The Tamil við and Kanarese bid = house, may be compared.

The Todas and Dravidians generally, have much in common with the Celtic tribes. [POPE.]

POLYANDRY—MORALITY.

221

were widows, I did not meet with a single instance of unmarried adult females. But, on the contrary, I have been able to record several examples of maids wedded in childhood, either to boys or to young men; and in one instance of a young woman of seventeen married to a boy of fourteen years.—See Table No. 9.

CHAP.
XXVI.589
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Although there *are* degrees of kinship, within whose limits the union of the sexes is held in actual abhorrence, yet half-brothers and sisters are not included amongst the objectionables. I judge from the internal evidence afforded by their mode of life; the size and crowded condition of their tiny houses: their natural dispositions, so gregarious and unacquisitive as to be uncontrolled by such moral doubts as a sense of personal property outraged, would prompt: the disproportion of the sexes: unlimited opportunity. These points conspire to convince with irresistible force, that here communism is in fullest operation.

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Very possibly, some etiquette may be in force among them to place a certain bar on their private practices. But I have not had opportunity to ascertain absolutely the form and outline of their private domestic habits. My belief is—and in this respect Mr. Metz is in full accord with me—that every disgusting habit, which might be expected in such a state of life, is the common practice among them, but unaccompanied by much sense of impropriety.

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The almost entire absence of evidence of foreign blood in their veins, is worthy of note, even if a reason may not be ascribed with any degree of confidence, to the phenomenon. Surrounded by tribes, varying much in appearance from the Todas, and from one another, and for many years in close proximity to an English settlement; yet not one single Europeanised countenance has been met amongst them, nor could I point with certainty to any faces bearing the stamp of a foreign native tribe.

144

Whether polyandry was the anticipated effect of a preconcerted design, in which infanticide was the logical preliminary step, or whether this peculiar relation of the sexes was its unforeseen consequence; it still could not have continued in force amongst a people, unless it were in unison with many of their inherent feelings. The same, or parallel personal qualities or propensities, must have led to the perpetuation of both these eccentric customs, or one of them must have fallen into disrepute. And the discontinuance of infanticide must have eventuated in the abandonment of polyandry, in consequence of the intimate nature of the alliance existing between them.

●/9/ Now if the Todas had been an exact contrast of what we know them to be; had they been a people possessing a strong sense of personal property, and of dislike to publicity: had they been warlike and quarrelsome: had they, in fact, possessed large Acquisitiveness, Secretiveness, Destructiveness, and Combativeness—had they been brachycephalic, in fact—and withal been amorous, we could readily have imagined their taking to a *polygamous* style: but it would be contrary to our actual experience of men, to suppose that with such energetic personalities, families could have continued in harmony where one woman was the common wife of many men.

I maintain therefore, that whilst a general deficiency in power of the propensities—and conspicuously so of the acquisitive organ—dictated the indolent measure of infanticide, in the very face of the counter action of large Philoprogenitiveness, as the best means of escaping annihilation, I am equally forced to the conviction, that the tameness of the same group of deficient organs, combined with the moderate expression of an amativeness not above the average, enabled polyandry to maintain its position when once established.

I have no means of ascertaining that the organs, upon whose sizes and combinations have depended the allied and

THE TODAS.

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621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
 234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together,
 tended generally by the village *pājāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in
 the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one
 dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pājāri*.

421 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
 428 *pattā** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One
 592 old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied,
 "the wisest." (Compare *Mens*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double
 "share, and the next born a share and a half, if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue
 "and learning." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving
 clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators
 have attempted to harmonise *Mens*'s precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find
 the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally
 divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the
 duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and
 177 depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they
 651 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
 461 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion,
 an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the
 authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances
 by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has
 not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from
 294 the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for
 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the
 262 Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to
 eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having
 apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is dis-
 graceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

* *Pattā*, commonly spelt *pattal* or *pattā*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{2}$ or an $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for basket, nest. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Nēri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Nēri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—Editor.

research has disproved the formerly accepted theory that the languages of Southern India, viz., Telinga, Carnataca, Tamul, and Malayalim, were corrupt derivatives of Sanskrit, and it is believed that the few Sanskrit words which occur in the Toda tongue have merely been engrafted on it. 197

With reference to the Tamul, a partial similarity, or even identity, in the vocabulary of any language might arise simply from lengthened local proximity, and is only considered by philologists as of any value when it occurs in what are supposed to be the most ancient words; namely, those which pertain to everyday life, such as no nation, even its most primitive state, could be without, and which would be the least likely to be exchanged for foreign words. As to the resemblance in grammatical construction, which is said to consist in some plurals and in the terminations of certain verbs, an oral language so difficult of pronunciation will naturally demand a great amount of careful study and an intimate acquaintance, in order to determine with certainty the value of this affinity. Moreover, supposing it to be established, it appears to be a question whether the Tamul might not owe its root to the aboriginal Toda, instead of *vice versa*.

In mental constitution the Toda is intelligent and thoughtful; although naturally indolent, capable of being roused to considerable exertion on occasions of necessity; and, notwithstanding his singularly peaceful disposition, and total want of weapons, is inherently brave and bold. It has been said that he is too lazy to hunt the wild game, large or small, which abounds on every side; but it must be remembered that he does not eat flesh. Possessing no implements of agriculture, he consequently does not till the ground, but the grain which he uses is supplied by his vassals as a *quid pro quo*, in which respect he differs little from the wealthy classes in more civilised countries. The very use of grain at all by the Todas is probably an innovation of recent date. That physical courage is not wanting in an average Toda may be inferred from the bloody funeral customs which, as will be presently described, prevail in his country. His moral fearlessness of character, with its accompanying consciousness of power, are felt and acknowledged by all the other tribes, who involuntarily bow to an influence they can neither cope with nor emulate. His contempt of danger is also exhibited in his carrying no weapon of defence against the numerous cheetahs, black panthers, bears, wild dogs, and tigers. 157 262 241 181

- 131 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.
- 147 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are confined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like
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religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, number- 114
 ing, according to the latest census returns, 807 [61]
 individuals, which inhabits the Nilgiri plateau. I shall,
 therefore, content myself with recording the rambling
 notes made by myself during occasional visits to Oota-
 camund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the
 book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and [127]
 other pioneers of the Nilgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi- 233
 domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products 234
 (butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a 443
 less extent than in bygone days before the establishment [178]
 of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been
 said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the 556
 number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in 233
 connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal
 Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who
 has done mission work among the Todas, generally
 illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-
 lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to
 come out of their huts. Thinking they required
 humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw
 on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining
 the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the
 Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and
 is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes,
 yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how
 many buffaloes is he bringing?'

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral 648
 life. But I have met with more than one man who had 464
 served, or who was still serving Government in the [181] ●
 modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of [233]

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

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its pasturage, to the economic advantage of the latter. Moreover, the tribe has come to depend on the mission for the sale of its women's needlework. Perhaps another factor is to be seen in the small size of the tribe. Every convert is related somehow to practically every Toda in the tribe and still uses the appropriate terms of address. The Badagas show a contrast here, for in a community of over 40,000 the great majority of Badagas that a convert will meet will be strangers and unrelated to him. It would be unwise to push any argument based on this feeling of relationship between the two Toda communities, and yet one suspects that the matter has its weight. Finally, if one must, it is possible to fall back on characterizations of the Todas as "a friendly people" ¹¹ or as a tolerant people. Their hauteur and self-sufficient bearing has often been remarked, and as a complementary side of their character there is a lack of fanaticism in them. They know that they are a peculiar people (in anthropological terms, aberrant) and recognise that others, even if they are Todas, must be allowed their peculiarities. Hence their rather great degree of tolerance for the Christian converts and their retention of relations with them where it is possible.

¹¹ So my Kota informant quoted in *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 105.